STATE OF THE TIME AND ADDRESS AND ADDRESS

street, the entirely of the protection of the pr

city without feeling that its demixens must be a vide and immoral set, because not more cleanly. They cannot believe that virtue and dirt can be found in the same habitation. Yet Americans of the same class, following the same pursuits, are really less clean than the Irish. The Irishman drinks, unhappily he drinks to his scrious injury; and when he drinks it must be a social affeir, for he is never satisfied with a solitary glass. He rets excited, rushes into the street, makes a noise, perhaps gets up a "perceable fight, knecks down the polaramin, or breaks the head of his wife, not more sober than he. All this is thocking, inextnable, and we cry out against the drunken Irish, against the priests, the bishops, the anns, the Jernits, and the Pope. God forbid that we should defend it, but the difference between them and us, after all, is only a difference of manner. We do just as bad, or nerhaps worse, only not precessly in the same way, or with a little more external decorum, with more regard for appearances. Our eyes are open to their vices, and closed to our own. There are more violations of external decomp and the petty police in Broad than in Bencon-st, and more real, solid, and abiding virtue. It is easy to decision against the poor, uneducated Irish crowded together in our large towns, and to find much among them that is really annoying; but it is very difficult to go among these same poor. Irish people, into their houses, and enter into familiar and kindly conversation with them, and not come away charmed. Even at worst, there is a mellow spot in the Irishman's heart, and he has the secret of finding the mellow spot in your own, if you have one. Place the same number of Angle-Americans in the position of these poor and revited Irash people, subject them to the same privations and the same usage, and we should find a difference near all flattering to our national vanity. Out from these narrow lanes, blind courts, dirty streets, damp cellurs, and suffocating garrets, will come forth some of the noblest sons

## BROWNSON THE APOSTATE.

Five years ago it was my fertune, or misfortune, to meet this man. He had but receasily made his last conversion, and a strange phonomenon did the conversion present. The dregs of infidelity blurred the arid face of his newly adopted creed. The gentle, genial, liberal, and leving spirit of Christianity, became incarante in the hard heart of the rophist with the crabbed dogmas of a cold materialism. It would seem as if the seed that was sown in ungenial soil, fell upon rocks harder than those mentioned in the gospel, and anid tarcs and briars more cheking and thorny; and if some grains found substance, the gerins grew up croched, gnarled, stinted.

I asked myself how it was that any rational man could have confidence in him.

I had rather a long experience of spostates on the other side. I knew Morthurer O'Sullivan: I knew McNeil; I knew Leahy: I knew at least a dozen apostate priests. I knew Leahy: I knew at least a dozen apostate priests.

dependent processes to Napoleon the Little's cross, they would be bound to obey.

A more monstrous tyranny was never proposed—a more hissphemous falsehood never attered. But such as it was, it was presented to the American people as what they were to expect at the hands of the Catholice when strong enough to act, by Orestes A. Brownson. And, fruit to say, it is little wonder that it did provoke the utmost irriganton. The Americans would be unworthy of their character and history they would be degenerate and craven if they did not repel with haughty scora even the idea of so odious a despotism.

I now proceed to show that this doctrins is false as it is food—irreligious as it is disgusting, and un Catholic as it is odious.

I first eite Dr. Davie. He was a very modest man, as much distinguished for purey and virtue as for learning and genius. The Church of irreined at least never produced so great a writer or a more sanctified man. He wrote thus:

In had times in times of outbelence and barbaram, the claimer the Pupes to the servergants of almost every kindon in Europerse up in affaire, and were sainfuled and sanctine of discounting the claim of the critish in the George and in the market every in their followers and other critish in the George and in the market ever or in the military and ware sainful and anticide of the Catholic than Popes a need and an audit before disting the George and in the market water of the reviewer's "Kingdom of God on Earth was not very flattering. He rather thought it more like another kingdom—the kingdom of pride and had passions. But, minchilly, the good Bishop had some great disady antages. First, he had not a drop of Anglo-Norman or even Augio-Naron, blood in his veius or in his heart. Secondly, he did not make wares of reityon, or sell it in packages at twenty-five sents per package, and thirdly, he was so unlinely as to be born in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and had no experiences outside it.

I now appeal to Doctor Hughes, where he cites St. Thomas Aquimas and Sucrement

as Aquinnas and Suarez, in his letter to Gen. Cass. He says:

They were not the men who wrote of the Divine right of Kings. They be defeat Government is of Divine right, but that the individual severage or rules in scendorosament is of inures origin."

I again turn to Doctor Doyle. In his examination on earth before a Committee of the House of Commons in 18.3, he says, in answer to the question:

Can the Pope also we the ann's subjects from their allegiance. "Answer—"No."

Q "Is it in his power to d prive the king of his kinglom;"

A "It is not, indeed."

Q "Can he by any means excuse a Catholic from his allegiance. "A "Most moderabelly use!"

Again he is asked:

Is the claim that some Powes have set up to temporal subbotity expressed to Scripture and tradition."

A "Is we excluse a resolution and in answer to the same question he says:

"I do not think it is very conformable to it. I do not say exactly it is proposed to it; but certain he has accessed in such power from China."

Hear again Doctor Murray, Archbishop of Dublin. He stays:

The Pope's authority is whally confued to a sphittal authority is whally confued to a sphittal authority.

SAYS:

The Pupe's authority is whelly confined to a splittual authority according to the words of our Savior. My kinedom is not of this world. His splittual power does not allow him to delivous kines or alsolve their subjects from the silegance due to them; and any average of that kind I would consider contrary to Scripture and its

temps of that and I would consider securary to Scripture and traducts.

Hear again Dr. Kelly, Archbishop of Tuam:

To rever was admitted as a decrine of the Catholic Church that the Pose had temporal authority outside his son donationar.

I have cited these authorities, and dwelt upon them, not because they were needed as to the questions involved, not because any doubt winstever exists or has existed in respect to them in the mind of any well-informed Catholic; but because the position of The Review is such that it naturally makes impressions on the minds of even intelligent Protestants. With a view of disabesing them, thave deemed it expedient to produce as testimony the written well-considered, nay, sworn opinions of the most eminent divines and scholars of the Catholic Church. The Review's ranting is not Catholic doctrine, but a felse and foul libel upon it, as they abundantly prove. I could multiply them one thousand fold. I could eite for stronger opinions from all there bishops, from Doctor Cellins, examined at the same time, and from Daniel O Cennell, Sheil, Blake, and hosts of others; but

Hear guin Dr. Kelly, Arabibidog of Team:

Heave Mortiner O'Sully and the stime of the large of the guint o

groaning, all the ford names and "envenomed contests," to you, Doctor, and your brother natives.

Moreover, if any public servant misbehave himself in his office, the privilege of consuring him is for natives only according to your docfine. It is true, the interests of adopted cinsens are equally concerned in the case; it is true, they have by their votes (given with cureaue reserve and a charming modesty) helped to piace him in the office he has misused; it is true, their money helps to pay him his salary; still, they are not to "censure" or "interfere." You say:

office he has misused; it is true, their money helps to pay, him his salary; still, they are not to "censure" or "inter "fere." You say:

"A man may send his own wife, for she is his, and it is all in the family, but let a creage attempt the same thing, and the husband. By a structure "you mean one who, after a residence of five years, after duly renonneing ollectiance to all kings and queens, and after taking upon him all the responsibilities of his new condition, has become, by the operation of the laws, an American citizen, as fully and absolutely as you. Doctor Orestes Brownson. This is the "stranger" whom you recommend to be knocked down if he offer an opinion about the affairs of the nation, which are his own affairs.

Thus far you write genuine Nativism, pure and simple; it fits the Know-Nothings precisely. In a fit of moleration, to be sure, you say a few words in behalf of the "foreign population"—meaning all the time naturalized citizens.

"There are toe numerous to be massaced, too natureous to be driven from the country; and native Americans to hope, have for such afferpert, if nothing sim, to seek to make them bondisaves."

There is some comfort in this; but at the same time you warn them very fairly what is likely to become of them unless exceedingly well-behaved.

"The Anne Americans are abundantly able to true are of themselves and if proved d to active meanines, the population of foreign high would find themselves whelly at their mercy. We speak to was now to reign population.

Thank you, Doctor. The case them seemes shall hence forth exercise their franchise with modesty, decorum, silence and reserve—if they persist not only in volting but in canvassing—if they presume to censure any public officer, member of the Government, or policeman—in short, if they "take airs"—then the time will have come for "extreme measures." They will lie wholly at the mercy of their fellow-citizens born in America, and will thereafter be massacred, driven from the country, or relaced to bondage, as shall seem to su

of their fellow citizens born in America, and wall indesenter be massacred, driven from the country, or reliated to bondage, as shall seem to such fellow-citizens most expedient.

In this whole article of yours you utterly ignore the law. It is nothing to you that the naturalized citizen holds his citizenship by the same tenure and under the same sanction as yourself—namely, the law of the land. If it be so, that the law makes none of those distinctions which you have enacted above, about voting but not canvassing, discussing public questions but not discussing them with ardor, and so forth: you care not; you know mothing. You require something more than obschence to law—namely, a submissive demeasure in the presence of one's Native American superiors, and a contourney to the character of the Anglo-American race. You say—They should understand in the onest, if they would avoid appleasant collision, that they must altituately last they may useleasant collision, that they must altituately last they may useleasant collision, that they must altituately last they are a reliably and become a smallsted in general character to the Aughe-American race.

And who are the Anglo-American race? I know who the Americans are; and I know that a naturalized citizen must become a good and trae American—but as to becoming an Anglo-American, or being assimilated in character to Englishmen, the thing cou't be done, and I foul no law for it. On the whole I advise you, before you lecture again upon the duties of adopted citizens, to look a fittle into the law and the Constitution; and if you find anything Angelican there, anything against taking airs, or can assung, be good enough to let us know.

But now comes the singular part of your Nativism. It happens that the strangest element in the present adual Native American party, is its hostility to Catholicism; and that some of the most active Know-Nothings are English and Irah Protestants.

You have not correct this gross mistake. You say to your allies, the Know-Nothings—"Done you sea

"Mitchel, and such as he, you ought to aim your blows."
You cry out—
"Not from Catholic, but from non-Catholic foreigners comes the principal dancer to our institutions."
It is strange and sai; but not one of your allies believes you—not one of them (after all your outrageous nativistick) believes that you care one jot ahout our institution in comparison with the institution of the Propagands. In short it is mainly against you, Doctor Orestes, and your doctrines and disciples, that this Native Americanism has organized itself. In vain you point out their mixtake, and tell them they are knocking down the wrong men. You tell us that
"The party not only discriminates between fereigners, but it disciminates bedly."

Nay, what is worse.

tell us that

The party not only discriminates between foreigners, but it discriminates bedly."

Nav, what is worse,

It is itself animated by a radical spirit, and is hard and glove with foreign radicals."

It is a mad world, Doctor: and the time is out of joint. A Native American party you highly approve; but the Native American party is all wrong. In respect it the foreigners, you like it very well; but in respect it especially hates Catholic foreigners, it goes much against your stomach. In respect it knocks men down, look you, it fits your humor well; but in respect it knocks down the wrong man; it is tedious. Why will it set fire to the churches of its best friends? Why will it be hand and glove with German and Hungarian Revolutionists? Why hoot Hedini, and cheer Gavazzi, and hearken to the tramp of the Angel Gabriel? Why will it not come to you, and come it itself in a soutane, and get a small torsare on the top of its head, and comport itself like an Anglo-American penitent before its confessor!

It will cost you much pains, I apprehend, to set all this right; especially as you, Doctor Orestes, you more than any one living man, have moused and kindled this strong anti-Catholic, and therefore anti-Irish spirit in America, by your ultra Catholic and anti-Republican teachings and writings. Innumerable and digusting Shepherds of the Valley and Freeman's Journals have been a broot of your begetting, and on the part of my Irish fellow-countrymen, I accuse you of so misrepresenting them and their church before the American people that any republican nation could not but look on them and all their ways with suspicion and abhorrence.

How easy it would be to turn you inside out now, and to point out in the pages of your own Remem the very doctrines which have alarmed the genuine republican spirit of this country, and have given to the Native party whatever genuine vigor it vossesses! Since '42 you have regularly enlisted yourself on the side of all the tyrase of Europe—regularly exterted yourself to cry down all

thereine.

How that case is to arise, or who is to judge whether they are offered sealing society or not, you do not infoam us; but the case having arisen, you assert that it is right to imprison, or otherwise punish, even for course) to flaying alive or burning any heretic, say a Protestant. Throughout that article you take care to place toleration for heresy on the ground of expediency; and you never renounce the right, nay, the duty of punishing for that crime.

And all your miserable cohoes of the press, from the Mississippi to Beston Bay, vied with you in admission of Austria, and in heaping infamous names on the gallant republicans of Italy and France:—nay, they improved upon your doctrines of intolerance (for you could not restrain the fools within the bounds of your prudent example) until the land reverberated with anothernas on hiberty; and men might almost fancy they heard the thunders of the Vatican bursting on the Alleghanies, and saw the tide of the Mississippi reddened by the fires of an inquisition.

hierty: and men might almost fancy they heard the thunders of the Vatican bursting on the Alleghadies, and saw the tide of the Mississippi reddened by the fires of an inoulsition.

This, I say, has been your work, Dr. Orestes, heave has come whatever of bitterness and ferocity is to be found in the Native American party; this outrageous caricature of Catholicity, held up to America by you, lafter you had tired of all the other religions, has been the principal spring, and is the only excuse for the furious anti-Irish spirit which is now raging.

One leading idea of the Native American party is alone anflicient to prove this. They say, there must be drawn a distinction between "citizens of America" and "sub-"fiects of the Pope." They have got the idea—it was from you and your choose they caught it—that a Catholic must be a bad citizen. And if you and your echoes were true exponents of Catholicity, they would be right. In that case I would make no scruple to avow that no Catholic is fit to be a citizen of any country; and, not content with disfranchising. I would exterminate them.

It is only by distinctly separating themselves from you, by emphatically denying you and all your wor is, that Irishmen in America can ever become as one with their active fellow-citizens. In the meantime, I do protest and declare on the part of my Catholic fellow-countrymer. First, that they do not want to burn herefice: secondly, that they do not regard republicans on either side of the Atlantic as "infamous wretches;" and third, that there is no part of the Americaa Constitution valued by them more highly than the part which makes it impossible for you, Doctor, with all the Propaganda at your back, ever you, Doctor, with all the Propaganda at your back, ever you, Doctor, with all the Propaganda at your back, over me: I was certainly in Ireland aradical. In America its soon as I have the honor to be a citizen of more to be a steady as I have the honor to be a citizen of more to be a steady as I have the honor to be a citizen of more

and fair—that it may only be a besseling and a good to mankind.
Yes, in America, you must call me conservative: and be assured that there is nothing I shall be more solicitods to conserve than the absolute eight right of every man to be bereite, indded, Catholic, Jew, or Mormon fit his good pleasure.

I remain, Dr. Brownson, your obedient servant.